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EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND EMPLOYMENT
OF SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS IN KENYA.

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the relationship between the post-independence expansion of secondary school education and the labour market. 3179 Form IV leavers for the years 1965-68 were traced for their occupations in the first and third years after leaving school. The occupations are correlated with the leavers' aggregate scores in the E.A. Certificate of Education.

The results show that in the first year after taking E.A.C.E., about 25% continue with further education (mainly H.S.C.), a further 20% undergo full time training, about 25% are employed in the public sector and 14% in the private sector. In the third year after E.A.C.E., 18% are in further education (mainly University), 13% in full time training, while the public sector employs about 38% and the private sector, 16%. A possible trend which is emerging is shown by the sudden increase in unemployed school leavers, which rose from about 1% for the 1965/7 cohorts to 14.8% for the 1968 cohort.

The correlation with E.A.C.E. results shows that the ablest students are going on with further education of some sort, and that the labour market is selective in terms of performance in E.A.C.E. - those with the poorest aggregate scores are remaining unemployed longest.

The implications raised by this study concern the relevance and quality of the present secondary school education to the needs of the labour market and to the students. The expansion of Harambee Secondary Schools with their high proportion of unqualified teachers has led in some cases to poor performance in E.A.C.E. and the unemployment problem initially affects the weakest students. Since the major category of employment that school leavers enter is shown to be clerical/secretarial, the conclusion is reached that the present type of education is still preparing students for white-collar jobs, which will inhibit them from adjusting to a situation of unemployment and acute job competition.

EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND EMPLOYMENT OF SECONDARY
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INTRODUCTION.

Since Independence in 1963, and particularly in the last six years, Kenya has experienced rapid expansion of secondary education. The number of secondary schools has increased from 336 in 1965 to 783 in 1970 and Form One enrolment has risen from 19,105 in 1965 to 41,043 in 1970, both having more than doubled. Equally impressive has been the increase of secondary school population which has almost tripled, increasing from 46,125 in 1965 to 122,239 in 1970. The number of secondary school leavers has more than tripled from 1965 to 1970, having risen from 5,878 to 19,137.

TABLE 1

THE EXPANSION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN KENYA 1965-70.²

(1) Number of Secondary Schools

<u>year</u>	<u>maintained</u>	<u>assisted</u>	<u>unaided</u>	<u>total</u>
1965	158	28	150	336
1966	178	21	201	400
1967	186	20	336	542
1968	213	19	369	601
1969	244	19	431	694
1970	281	19	483	783

1. I wish to acknowledge the use in this paper of data which was collected by J.E. Anderson and E.R. Rado. I am also grateful to H.C.A. Somerset and others in the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi; and in Kenya as a whole, who have given me valuable help in the process of collecting and analysing of these data. This is a revised and enlarged version of a paper given at a Careers Conference in Kenya, May, 1971.

2. All of the figures given here come from Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education. The figures for school leavers do not include private candidates who constitute about 20% of the candidates sitting for the East African Certificate of Education (EACE) examination. These private candidates subsequently compete for opportunities for further education, training and employment.

(2)	Year	Form One enrolment	Secondary School population (Form 1-4)	Secondary School leavers at Form 4.
	1965	19,105	46,125	5,878
	1966	24,108	63,193	6,455
	1967	31,805	88,779	9,230
	1968	35,624	98,203	12,835
	1969	39,836	111,576	16,905
	1970	41,043	122,239	19,373

The rapid increase in the number of secondary schools has been mainly due to the increase of unaided schools which constituted 61.7% of all secondary schools in the country in 1970 and provided places for 42.7% of secondary school population. To a large extent this is a credit to the Harambee spirit of self-help which has translated into action the political pressure for increased educational opportunities for African people generated during the colonial period. At the same time the coming of independence made economic and social benefits accruing from secondary and higher education more obvious as Africans assumed positions of responsibility which previously had been closed to them. These interrelated factors, to a large extent, account for local communities' involvement and investment in education. For the government, there has been another reason to justify the expansion and the large sums it has invested in this field, namely the provision for the country's manpower requirements.

This impressive but at the same time unplanned expansion has gone ahead at the expense of some other aspects of the whole educational system. The problems of expansion have been the pre-occupation of most people and very little attention has been given to analysing the implications of this expansion to the whole education system and the country. Because of the concern shown for increased secondary school opportunities, more fundamental educational issues have escaped serious discussion. Issues like the relevance and content of education, curriculum change, the quality of education at all levels and the relationship of the education system to the wider society, have therefore been peripheral. There have, however, been recent indications that these issues will receive more attention. The publication of the Ndegwa Commission recommendations and the appointment of British curriculum development mission may generate concern for some of these fundamental issues.³

3. See "The Report of the Commission of Inquiry, (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission) 1970-71; Chairman: D.N. Ndegwa,

The unplanned expansion of secondary education has some undesirable consequences for the education system and the society as a whole. The colonial academic education with its elitist attitudes has been perpetuated in the old schools and closely imitated in the newly-started secondary schools. The Harambee secondary schools have been the worst victims of this problem. Their curriculum is mainly limited to teaching of academic subjects with little or no attention given to science courses. This has been mainly because of lack of adequate teaching facilities such as laboratories, libraries and classrooms. These schools have employed less qualified teachers firstly because there is a shortage of qualified teachers in the country and secondly they are financially and otherwise incapable of competing with government maintained schools for the few qualified personnel. For instance, in 1970 there were 1,750 trained graduate teachers in the 783 secondary schools in Kenya, 82.2% (1439) were in the 300 maintained and assisted schools, while 17.8% were in the 483 unaided schools. At the same time there were 1312 untrained holders of Higher School Certificate and East African Certificate of Education teaching in secondary schools of which 14.9% were in the government maintained and assisted schools while the rest, 85.1%, were teaching in unaided schools. At the primary school level the expansion has meant that some teachers who were trained purposely to teach at that level, were called upon to assume the responsibilities of running and teaching at the Harambee secondary schools. In 1970, there were 2,993 FI teachers teaching in both secondary and primary schools. About 11% of these were teaching in secondary schools and these were predominantly (78%) teaching in unaided secondary schools. It is most likely that this affected the quality of teaching at primary school level, and certainly did not improve the quality of staff and teaching at the secondary school level.⁴

This paper will focus on one vital aspect of this expansion, namely the relationship between secondary school expansion and the labour market. The increase of secondary school output in the last three years, corresponding to the period when most of the unaided schools started having

C.B.S. (Nairobi: Government Printer, May 1971), Chap XVI para.386-506. See also the terms of reference of the British Curriculum Development Mission led by Mr. Gordon S. Bessey: Ministry of Education Circular to Provincial Education Officers and Heads of Institutions, 24th May, 1971.

4. For a further and more detailed discussion on problems of expansion see Anderson, J.E. "The Harambee Secondary Schools: The Impact of self-help," in Richard Jolly (ed.) Education in Africa. Research and Action. (Nairobi: E.A. Publishing House, 1969) pp.103-134.

their first Form Four graduates, has meant that the number of school leavers has been more than the demand of the labour market. Therefore unemployment among secondary school leavers has started to be noticed.⁵ For although rate of economic growth of Kenya has been about 6%, the rate of employment generation has been very low especially in the so called modern sector where most of school leavers expect to get employment.⁶ At the present rate of economic growth and to be specific the rate of employment creation, therefore, employment opportunities will become scarce and especially in the job categories which in the past used to be secondary school leavers' preserve.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.

An attempt will be made to outline what happens to school leavers on completion of their secondary education. It will be shown how performance in E.A.C.E., all other factors assumed being equal, influences the destinations of school leavers. The data given in this paper are the results of a follow-up study of a random sample of secondary leavers who completed between 1965 and 1968. This study forms a part of a bigger study, known as the Tracer Project, which has sought employment information on secondary and university leavers.⁷

The general aim of a secondary school leavers follow-up study is to find out what happens to secondary leavers after they leave secondary school, and to find the relationship between this education and after-school activities. Our study therefore aimed to find:-

- (1) the proportion of school leavers who continued for further education,
- (2) the proportion of school leavers who go into training, and what kind of training they get,
- (3) the proportion of school leavers who go into direct employment and the sort of jobs they get,
- (4) the performance in the E.A.C.E. of school leavers in each of the above categories and
- (5) the extent of unemployment among secondary school leavers:

The 1965-1968 samples were traced retrospectively and included 3,179 Africans.⁸ The major activity of each respondent for each year after

5. See the "Report of the Select Committee on Unemployment", (Nairobi: Government Printer Dec. 1970) Chap. I Section B (v) p.8.

6. This point was made by the Hon. Mwai Kibaki, Kenya's Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, at the closing session of Kenya Secondary Schools Heads Association Careers Conference, 5th May, 1971.

footnote.....7 & 8 cont/p.5

school was recorded. The main task gathering of data; tracing and confirming was done between December 1969 and August 1970. We have, however, done further tracing of some 1968 leavers whose information was lacking or incomplete.

TABLE II SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Year of leaving school	No. of schools in the sample	Male		Female		Total	% of sample school leavers to the national output
		No.	%	No.	%		
1965	14	424	80.6	102	19.4	525	8.9
1966	14	516	83.9	99	16.1	615	9.5
1967	16	664	77.9	188	22.1	852	9.2
1968	22	958	80.8	228	19.2	1186	9.2
TOTAL	22	2562	80.6	617	19.4	3179	9.2

The above figures indicate that our sample was 9.2% of the total national output of secondary school leavers for the four years. In considering this, we have to take into account the fact that our sample figures do not include the non-Africans who are included in the national figures. The sample for each year was slightly less than one-tenth of the school leavers of that year.

The ratio of boys to girls in our sample was about 4:1. This is to be compared with the national ratio of about 3:1 of the school leavers of 1965 to 1968.

RESEARCH FINDINGS:

Our discussion now turns to what happens to school leavers in the first and third year on the labour market. Apart from 1968 school leavers who were on the labour market for only two years at the time of

7. H.C.A. Somerset of the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, is currently engaged in a study of 1969 secondary school leavers. S.E. Rastad of the Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway has been studying University leavers.

8. There were about 700 non-Africans from our two sample schools who were left out because it was difficult to distinguish citizens from non-citizens.

the tracing, the 1965-1967 cohorts were on the labour market for three or more years. We have chosen to concentrate on the first and third year after school, firstly to get the general impression of what happens to school leavers immediately after school and secondly to see the trend, three years after school. Those who went into direct employment would be settled in jobs of their choice and a good number of those who went on for H.S.C. and training would have completed and entered labour market.

TABLE III THE DESTINATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THEIR FIRST YEAR AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL

Year of leaving school	Further Education		Training		Employment		Unemp-loyed	Misc-ella-neous	Un-traced	Total
	HSC	Univer.	Pub-lic	Pri-vate	Pub-lic	Pri-vate				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
1965	22.4	2.7	19.2	1.1	25.3	14.6	1.5	0.6	12.5	99.9 (526)
1966	25.7	1.3	21.3	1.5	28.1	11.1	0.8	1.3	8.9	100.0 (615)
1967	26.2	0.4	21.4	1.3	26.9	13.5	0.7	0.8	8.9	100.1 (852)
1968	22.1	0.3	20.5	1.9	18.8	14.4	14.8	1.3	5.9	100.0 (1186)

Table III indicates that intake into the various sectors has been fairly constant for the four years 1965-68, with the exception of 1968, when public sector employment showed a decrease in intake, and there was also a marked increase in unemployment. The figures also show that most of the school leavers who go into direct employment are absorbed in the public sector, which took over 25% of the school leavers on the labour market in 1965-67. In 1968 the public sector took 18.8%, the lowest percentage for the four years. About 25% of school leavers continued with further education, while another 20% joined full-time public sector training. The private sector took about 14% of the school leavers.

TABLE IV THE PERFORMANCE OF SCHOOL LEAVERS GOING INTO DIFFERENT DESTINATIONS
IN THE FIRST YEAR AFTER SCHOOL (Mean EACE Grade Aggregates¹⁰)

Year of leaving school	Further Education		Training		Employment		Unemp- loyed	Misce- llane- ous	Un- tra- ced	Total
	HSC	Univer.	Public	Priv.	Public	Priv				
1965	22.8	25.6	33.0	33.7	36.1	37.6	48.0	34.7	40.0	33.1
1966	22.9	28.4	34.1	25.0	36.5	34.3	46.4	32.6	35.4	31.9
1967	21.7	36.0	32.9	32.9	37.0	35.	46.0	43.7	39.8	32.2
1968	22.5	38.3	32.3	35.7	39.7	38.5	44.6	41.6	39.5	34.9

Table IV shows that performance in the EACE examination strongly influences the opportunities open to school leavers. Higher School Certificate courses tend to recruit the ablest, namely those with grade aggregate points of about 22.5. Pupils in HSC courses average about 10 grade aggregate points better than those who go into training courses. Entrants to public sector training have mean grade aggregate points of 33.0. Direct entrants into employment are of rather lower calibre (37.0), while the unemployed are the weakest students of all (45.0).

In 1968 the mean grade aggregate deteriorated for school leavers joining all sectors. This is in keeping with the overall performance in that year in which the mean grade aggregate was 34.9 as compared with an aggregate of 32.2 in 1967. The mean grade aggregate of leavers entering most sectors show no significant change over the years. The exceptions are for those in private sector training and the unemployed, but the numbers entering these sectors in most years has been so small that little significance can be placed on the fluctuations. The increase in unemployed in 1968 is, of course, significant.

In 1967 and 1968 our sample showed that direct entrants into university had poorer mean grade aggregates than those who went on to H.S.C. This is because some leavers were accepted to overseas universities with lower EACE results than were required for entrance into H.S.C. in Kenya. However, the actual number is very small.

10. EACE scores are graded from 1 to 9 (1 being a Distinction and 9 a Fail). Grade aggregate points are the total of the students best (lowest) scores.

One way of illustrating the effect of EACE examination results upon what happens to leavers is to compare the top and bottom quintile¹¹ of school leavers based on their aggregate performance. This is done in Table V.

TABLE V ACTIVITIES OF THE TOP AND BOTTOM QUINTILE OF THE EACE DISTRIBUTION.

Year of leaving school	Grade Aggregate cut off	No. of School leaver	Further Education	Training		Employment		Un-employed	Miscellaneous	Untraced
				Public Sector	Priv. Sector	Public Sector	Priv. Sector			
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Top Quintile</u>										
1965	23	102	69.6	9.8	0	10.8	4.9	0	1.0	3.9
1966	22	122	70.5	7.4	2.5	4.9	8.2	0	0.8	5.7
1967	22	183	74.9	10.4	1.6	7.7	4.4	0	0	1.1
1968	24	242	69.0	19.4	1.7	3.3	4.5	0	0	2.1
<u>Bottom Quintile</u>										
1965	42	111	0	14.4	0	28.8	21.6	7.2	0	27.9
1966	41	122	4.1	18.0	0.8	41.0	14.8	3.3	1.6	16.4
1967	42	172	1.2	15.7	1.2	39.0	18.6	2.3	2.3	19.8
1968	46	241	0.4	6.2	2.9	24.5	17.4	35.3	2.5	10.8

With the exception of 1968 leavers who joined public sector training, where intake from the top quintile increased from 10% to 19%, there was no significant change in the percentages drawn from the top quintile going into the other sectors. About 70% of school leavers in the top quintile continued with their education. These were those who had scored less than 24 aggregate points in the EACE examination. Public sector training took about 10% of this top group. Therefore, almost 80% of the school leavers in the top quintile continued with some form of education — training or higher education.

The bottom quintile showed consistency in most of the sectors, except those of public sector training and the unemployed. Recruitment from the bottom quintile into public sector training dropped from an average of 15% in 1965-67 to about 6% in 1968. Public sector training

11. Top quintile refers to the top one-fifth (20%) of the total EACE distribution, while bottom quintile refers to the bottom one-fifth of the distribution.

courses seem to be improving the average calibre of their intake. This sector recruited more in the top quintile in 1968 than it had in the other three years of our study. Over 50% of the school leavers in the bottom quintile went into direct employment in three of the years. For 1968 our data indicates that more than 35% of the leavers in the bottom quintile were unemployed in their first year on the labour market. It will be noted that there were no unemployed in the top quintile.

TABLE VI THE ACTIVITIES OF SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS THIRD YEAR AFTER SCHOOL

Year of leaving school	Further Education		Training		Employment		Un- emplo- yed	Misce- llane- ous	Un- tra- ced	Total
	HSC	Univer.	Public	Priv.	Public	Priv.				
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1965	0.2	18.4	11.4	0.6	35.9	17.5	0	0.6	15.4	100.0 (526)
1966	0.2	18.7	13.8	0.7	40.2	15.8	0.7	1.5	8.6	100.2 (615)
1967	0.2	10.8	13.8	0.8	38.1	16.5	0.6	1.3	17.7	99.8 (852)

The activities of school leavers in the third year after secondary school (TABLE VI) show a considerable increase of those in the university and almost non-existence of leavers taking H.S.C. course. The proportion of school leavers in the university for 1965 and 1966 was over 18% of the leavers in the sample. The proportion of school leavers in public sector training had decreased from about 20% in the first year after school to about 13% in the third year after school. This decline is mainly due to those finishing two year training courses.

In the first year after secondary education both public and private sectors (1965-1967) accounted for the employment of about 40% of school leavers in each year's cohort, while in the third year after secondary education they accounted for over 54%. This increase in the proportion of those in employment is due to those who had entered H.S.C. and training courses joining employment. This overall increase of those in employment is not however evenly distributed between public and private sectors. The increase is highest in the public sector being about 42% over the figures of the first year after school (1965-1967) as compared with about 21% for the private sector in 1965 and 1967.

The increase of the proportion of those untraced in the third year after secondary education was mainly due to losing track of those who had completed H.S.C. or training courses; this being particularly so, for 1967 H.S.C., entrants. This partially explains the decline of the proportion of those continuing with university education compared with 1965 and 1966 cohorts. Our attention now turns to a detailed discussion of categories of further education, training and employment.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Included in this category are those who joined the University immediately after secondary education, and those who continued into Form V and joined the University after sitting for Higher School Certificate.¹² The main avenue for further education, and university education in particular, is through taking Higher School Certificate. Our data indicates that 24% of all school leavers in our sample joined Form V. As mentioned earlier, about 70% of those in the top quintile went on for Higher School Certificate. This shows that most of the school leavers who perform well in the EACE examination continue with education after Form IV.

TABLE VII SIXTH FORM ENTRANTS.

Year of leaving school	No. entered Form V	Those who completed Form VI	University entrants	Entrants into Training	Entrants into Employment	Activity not known	Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%
1965	118	95.8(113)	67.8	6.8	21.2	4.2	100.0(118)
1966	158	97.5(154)	63.3	5.1	25.3	6.3	100.0(158)
1967	223	97.3(217)	39.0	3.6	28.7	28.7	100.0(223)
1968	262	97.3(255)	-	-	-	-	-

Table VII indicates that the drop-out rate at H.S.C. level is very low indeed, being less than 3%. The proportion Form V entrants who proceed to the university is very high being over 60% for 1965 and 1966. As pointed out earlier the figures for 1967 do not reflect true picture as we were unable to follow-up those who had just completed Sixth-form at

12. Less than 1% of the school leavers in our sample joined the university immediately after they completed secondary education. The universities in East Africa require a Higher School Certificate for entrance to a degree programme, except for 'mature age' entrants.

the time of our tracing when most of them were undecided about their future, and their whereabouts were difficult to locate.

Between 21% and 25% of 1965 and 1966 sixth form entrants were in employment in their third year after school. This includes those who had dropped out before completing H.S.C. course. About 5% of these two years' H.S.C. cohorts, were in full-time training. With the increasing intake of Form V (in 1971 there were 3,300 Form Five places and in 1972 there will be about 3,600 places) and the relatively low rate of university enrolment and therefore ensuing stiff competition for these places, there is bound to be an increase of the proportion of H.S.C. leavers who will be entering employment and training. It is also possible that more Form Four leavers on realising the diminishing opportunities for them in training and employment will be trying to seize the opportunities for sixth form education so that they can increase their ability to compete on the labour market.

TABLE VIII COURSES OF STUDY TAKEN AT SIXTH FORM.

Year of leaving school	Arts	Science	Mixed	Not known	Total
	%	%	%	%	
1965	38.1	56.8	1.7	3.4	100.0 (118)
1966	39.9	44.3	6.3	9.5	100.0 (158)
1967	42.2	53.8	1.8	2.2	100.0 (223)
1968	42.0	48.8	2.3	6.9	100.0 (262)

Table VIII indicates that most of the sixth form entrants have been taking science. The trend in the four years indicates that there is a movement towards a more balanced ratio between arts and science. The proportion of those taking mixed arts and science courses is very low. This is mainly because of the structuring of H.S.C. courses which are presented to students as either arts or science courses with variations within each course. This is reflected by the fact that the Ministry of Education opens H.S.C. courses as either arts or science streams.

TABLE IX THE PASS PERFORMANCE OF ENTRANTS TO THE MAJOR H.S.C. COURSES:
MEAN GRADE AGGREGATE.

Year of leaving school	Arts	Science	Mixed	Not known	Total
1965	23.2	21.9	33.0	30.3	22.8
1966	23.8	20.4	23.2	30.2	22.9
1967	23.6	19.9	19.5	23.2	21.7
1968	23.3	20.9	20.9	28.7	22.5

Table IX indicates that the calibre of students going into either arts or science courses for the four years has been remarkably consistent. However the performance of students taking science courses has been slightly better with a mean grade aggregate of 20.7 while those taking arts had a mean grade aggregate of 23.5. This may be due to the fact that science subjects are viewed as more difficult subjects to study and score a pass in the examination than arts subjects; and therefore being taken by the confident bright students.

Of those who entered the university from 1965 and 1966 cohorts, over 62% registered for non-professional degrees while the rest registered for professional degrees. Majority of those who had registered for non-professional degrees were in the arts (over 65% for 1965 and 1966 cohorts).

TRAINING.

For the purpose of our study we defined training as --

- (i) specialized education which leads to a qualifying examination or test,
- (ii) a full-time course of study as opposed to 'sandwich', part-time, or on-the-job training courses, and
- (iii) programmes in which the trainee receives an allowance or pocket money rather than a salary during the period of training.

The above definitions enabled us to say what was full-time training, but they restricted us from evaluating training schemes which did not fit these criteria. In most cases the industrial and commercial firms prefer training their employees on-the-job rather than sending them for full-time training elsewhere where they might not get the specific training required for their firms. Following the above criteria led us to

consider as full-time employment most of the training carried out in the private sector and some training in the public sector. Hence the small number of leavers said to be in private sector training. Most of these are leavers who had been sponsored for accountancy courses, secretarial, agricultural, and medical training.

Unfortunately our definition forced us to exclude from the category of public sector training those programmes carried out by East African Community corporations: the Railway Training School, and the training scheme of East African Airways Corporation. Training schemes carried out at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication, the Kenya Polytechnic and the Kenya Institute of Administration, all of which are sponsored by government ministries, were also excluded from our study, as well as the East African Power and Lighting (EAP&L) Training School. Therefore, our consideration of public sector training was confined to full-time training in education, agriculture, medical, and secretarial courses and certain minor categories.

TABLE X PUBLIC SECTOR TRAINING

Type of training	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Teacher Education	44.6	44.3	46.7	58.8
Agricultural	22.8	27.5	20.9	14.8
Medical	14.9	14.5	18.7	18.5
Secretarial	13.8	9.2	10.4	5.3
Miscellaneous	4.0	4.6	3.3	2.5
TOTALS	100.1(101)	100.1(131)	100.0(182)	99.9(243)

For the years 1965-68 the proportions of leavers going into the various types of training courses show considerable consistency, but there were some marked changes in 1968. The percentage of leavers in public sector training who undertook teacher education rose to over 58% (compared to an average of about 45% in the other years) and those going into medical training rose from about 15% in 1965-66 to about 19% in 1967-68; the percentage of

those going into agricultural training declined from an average of over 20% (1965-67) to about 15%. In fact, the actual numbers in our sample beginning agricultural and secretarial training in 1968 showed no increase over the numbers in 1966.

Teacher education is the main area of public sector full-time training followed by agricultural training in 1965-1967, which declined to a third place in 1968.

TABLE XI THE E.A.C.E. PERFORMANCE OF RECRUITS INTO PUBLIC SECTOR TRAINING.

Type of Training	1965	1966	1967	1968
Teacher Education	36.1	34.1	34.2	38.1
Agricultural	32.3	35.5	30.6	30.4
Medical	29.5	33.7	32.7	30.7
Secretarial	30.3	34.8	34.2	33.5
Other	25.3	26.7	26.7	37.2
TOTAL	33.0	34.1	32.9	32.3

The above table indicates that agricultural and medical courses recruit the ablest students of those that join public sector training. School leavers who enrol for teacher education and secretarial training each year are relatively poor in their level of performance. The figures also show that there has been a slight improvement in the quality of those recruited into the different training courses within the public sector and especially from 1966 to 1968. This trend may indicate that training institutions are becoming more selective in their intake, because of the large number of school leavers available on the labour market.

Teacher Education.

There are four levels at which a Form 4 School leaver can enter teacher education, this being determined mainly by his performance in E.A.C.E. Entry to secondary school teacher (S.I.) courses taken at Kenyatta College and Kenya Science Teachers College, usually requires

a first or second division certificate. This training takes three years. Technical teacher education takes five years and is taken at Kenya Polytechnic.

The dominant category in teacher education are those who take primary teacher one (P.1.) courses in the training colleges scattered all over the country. Students taking this course are usually of lower calibre than those who enroll for S.1. courses. The weakest entrants for teacher education are those who go for primary teacher two (P.2.) course. These are usually leavers who have failed E.A.C.E. and have very slim chances of getting employment elsewhere.

TABLE XII ENTRANTS TO TEACHER EDUCATION.

Type of Training	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Secondary Teacher One (S.1.)	42.2	44.8	37.6	32.9
Primary School Teacher One (P.1.)	44.4	50.0	52.9	47.6
Primary School Teacher Two (P.2.)	11.1	3.4	7.1	8.4
Other mainly technical teachers	2.2	1.7	2.4	11.2
TOTAL	99.9 (45)	99.9 (58)	100.0 (85)	100.1 (143)

Table XII shows that the percentages of those who go into various courses of teacher education have been fairly consistent for 1965 and 1966. In 1967 and 1968 there is a decline of those going for secondary school teachers' courses (S.1.). The 1968 figures show an increase of the proportion taking technical teacher education.

Agricultural Training.

There are very limited opportunities for agricultural training for secondary school leavers. The three main institutions are Egerton College which gives a three-year training programme in wide ranging courses in agriculture and allied technology; Embu Institute of Agriculture which

gives courses of two-year duration which are generally supposed to cater for agricultural instructors and extension agents; and the Animal Health and Industry Training Institute (A.H.I.T.I.), Kabete which offers two-year courses leading to technical assistantship in various agricultural fields. A recent addition to the field of agricultural education and technology is the starting of Water Development Training Scheme.

TABLE XIII ENTRANTS TO AGRICULTURAL TRAINING.

Place of Training	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Egerton College (3-year courses)	69.6	44.4	71.1	63.9
Embu Institute of Agriculture (2-year courses)	17.4	27.8	15.8	25.0
A. H. I. T. I. (2-year courses)	8.7	25.0	13.2	8.3
Other	4.3	2.8	0	2.8
TOTALS	100.0 (23)	100.0 (36)	100.1 (38)	100.0 (36)

Medical Training.

This is concentrated at Kenyatta National Hospital. There are also limited opportunities at the provincial headquarters. Other medical training is provided at two private hospitals, namely Aga Khan Hospital and Nairobi Hospital. These courses usually take more than three years. This is a field dominated by girls who mainly go for registered nurse course. The course intake has been over 55% each year. The other major courses in this field are health inspection, medical assistants and laboratory technicians. Annual intake into other course not listed above is very small indeed.

TABLE XIV INTAKE INTO MEDICAL TRAINING COURSES.

Type of course undertaken	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Registered Nurse	86.7	63.2	64.7	55.6
Health Inspection	0	10.5	11.8	13.3
Registered Medical Assistant	0	0	0	15.6
Other Medical training courses (Physiotherapy, Laboratory technician, Radiography etc.)	13.3	26.3	23.5	15.6
TOTALS	100.0 (15)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (34)	100.1 (45)

Secretarial Training.

This is another career field open for women. When compared with other public sector training courses (Table XI) its intake is of a lower calibre and tends to attract school leavers of the same performance level as those who go for teacher education. The duration of the course is about one and half years. Training facilities are concentrated in the main urban centres.

EMPLOYMENT.

Except for 1968, when over 52% of school leavers traced went directly onto the labour market in their first year after school, in 1965-1967 about 53% of school leavers traced went on for further education and training. Therefore 1968 represents a shift from the trend in the past (at least for 1965-1967), and may represent the pattern that is taking shape. Not all of those who enter the labour market go into wage employment, as a few end up in self-employment, or unemployed, as is the case for some 1968 leavers.

Here we shall attempt to answer three interrelated questions. Firstly, who are the major employers of secondary school leavers; secondly what kinds of jobs do these employers give to school leavers; and thirdly, where are these jobs available? In this discussion we will divide the employers into two broad categories - public and private sector.¹³

13. The distinction between public and private sectors is no longer
.....cont/p.18

The public and private sectors combined accounted for the employment of about 40% of the secondary school leavers in their first year on the labour market during 1965 to 1967, and about 33% in 1968. The public sector absorbed about 27% of 1965-1967 school leavers and about 19% of the leavers in 1968. The private sector has taken about 14% of school leavers each year.

In 1970, when this study was done, our data showed 1,671 leavers (out our total sample) were in employment. About 70% of these were employed in the public sector and about 30% were in the private sector. In the years 1965 to 1967 the first-year-after-school proportions in the public sector were between 63 and 70%. In 1968 the proportion was lower being about 57%. The 1965-1967 proportions of school leavers in public sector changed slightly in the third year after school due the absorption of leavers finishing public sector training. This shows the dominant role played at the present by the central Government and the public corporations in providing employment for secondary school leavers in Kenya.

Public Sector.

We shall now look at the main employers within the public sector. Table XV gives us the figures for school leavers going into various types of public sector employment in their first year after school, while table XVI gives figures of school leavers in their third year after school.

TABLE XV PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYMENT: FIRST YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The Employer	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Central Government	51.9	69.4	59.4	61.9
Local Government	3.0	2.3	5.2	5.8
Public Corporation ¹⁴	6.8	4.1	3.5	5.8
East Afr. Community	37.6	23.1	31.9	26.0
Not Known	0.8	1.2	0	0.4
TOTALS	100.1 (133)	100.1 (173)	100.0 (229)	99.9 (223)

suitable now that Governmental involvement has increased in what was formerly regarded as strictly private sector. It now seems more useful to distinguish between the Governmental bureaucratic machinery (mainly the civil service) and public enterprise (Governmental involvement in commerce and industry). This distinction is now important in view of the measures the Government has taken in commerce and industry.

.....footnote 14/p.19

Our figures show that there was some consistency in the proportions of school leavers going into employment within the public sector during the four years. The Central Government took more than 52% of the school leavers going into public sector employment in their first year after E.A.C.E., and the East African Community had an intake of over 23%. In the third year after E.A.C.E. there is an overall increase of number of school leavers in all sectors of public employment. The public corporations gain (over 60%) is higher than any other employer in this sector. The Central Government gain over the figures of the first year is just over 50%, and the East African Community gain is the lowest with about 20%. The increase is mainly due to leavers finishing H.S.C. or training courses and not through change of employers.

TABLE XVI PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYMENT: THIRD YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The Employer	1965	1966	1967
	%	%	%
Central Government	56.6	72.9	65.5
Local Government	3.2	3.2	4.0
Public Corporations	8.5	4.0	4.3
East African Community	29.6	19.4	24.6
Not Known	2.1	0.4	1.5
TOTALS	100.0 (189)	99.9 (247)	99.9 (325)

However the proportions of school leavers in employment of the different public sector employers does not change considerably in the third year after school. There is a rise of the proportion in the Central Government employment and a decline of the proportion in the East African Community employment which may due to the fact that other public employers gain through those who complete full-time training courses.

At the time of tracing, the Central Government was shown to be employing 68% of all 1965-1968 school leavers in public employment. The East African Community was employing 22% of the total, public corporations and semi-governmental bodies about 5% and local Government about 4%.

The high proportion of school leavers who found employment within the public sector, and particularly in the Central Government,

14. The Public Corporations in this category were those in existence in August of 1970, which included East African Power and Lighting.

might be explained by the fact that there was a great need for Africanisation of the Civil Service and for the expansion of governmental activities in the years immediately following Independence in December, 1963. Now most of the posts in the Civil Service have been not only Africanised but taken over by relatively young men who will not retire soon. The transitional period is almost over and it is doubtful whether the public sector will continue to take into direct employment the same proportion of school leavers it has taken in the past.

Table XVII below indicates the kind of jobs in the public sector which go to secondary school leavers.

TABLE XVII JOBS FOR SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR (FIRST YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Type of Employment	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Administrative or Managerial	3.8	3.5	1.7	0.4
Sub-professional or Technical	24.1	20.8	17.5	18.8
Untrained teachers	9.8	11.6	14.8	18.4
Secretarial or Clerical	44.4	42.2	41.9	44.8
Uniformed forces	9.0	5.2	9.2	4.5
Artisans and Craftsmen	0.8	0	0.9	0.9
Type of job not known	8.3	16.8	14.0	12.1
TOTALS	100.2 (133)	100.1 (173)	100.0 (229)	99.9 (223)

The proportions of school leavers taking different jobs within the public sector, in their first year after school, have been consistent in the four years except for those entering teaching as untrained teachers. The proportion of those taking teaching without training, has shown a steady increase from 9.8% in 1965 to 18.4% in 1968. It is most likely that more and more school leavers finding it difficult to get the jobs of their choice immediately after school, prefer teaching to remaining unemployed, and use the period they work as untrained teachers to look for opportunities available elsewhere.

It will be observed that about 43% of school leavers who go into direct public sector employment each year take clerical or secretarial jobs. Another 20% take sub-professional or technical jobs while about 5 per cent joined the uniformed forces. Less than three per cent are recruited into managerial or administrative positions in the public sector.

Administrative or Managerial: Under this major category are included central and local government administrators. The school leavers going into this field are mainly employed as personnel officers.

Sub-professional or technical jobs: About 20 per cent of school leavers in the public sector employment go into this field. This category includes jobs like engineering technicians, surveyor technicians, cartographers, building constructors/draughtsmen and laboratory assistants. These are usually taken into paid employment, but do undergo some training while on the job. These are usually sponsored at the Kenya Polytechnic or attend training courses organized by the institutions concerned in their training schools, (e.g., Railway Training School, E.A.P & T. Central Training School, E.A.P. & L. Training School).

There are however other school leavers who join these occupations under this category after taking full-time training. These are agricultural assistants, dairy technologists, foresters, health inspectors, nurses and medical assistants. Therefore it is difficult to say with exactitude the number of school leavers who take sub-professional or technical occupations until after about three years when most of the full-time training is completed.

Untrained teachers: These are the untrained teachers who are employed in this field immediately after school. As pointed out earlier their proportion is on the increase. They usually work for one year and then leave either to take jobs elsewhere or go into training. Only a small number stay as untrained teachers for the second or third year after school.

Secretarial or clerical: The occupations included in this category are general clerks, accounts clerks, cashiers, secretaries, typists, receptionists, salesmen store-keepers and other related jobs. Except for secretaries who need full-time training, the others get on-the-job training. Most of the school leavers who go into public sector employment find it easier to get jobs in this category because very little training is needed before the job is offered and there are a good number of these type of jobs within the civil service and public corporations.

Uniformed forces: The jobs considered under this category are those in the Army, Air Force, Navy, Police and Prisons. Secondary school leavers join as officer cadets and privates.

Artisans and Craftsmen: Occupations included in this category are mechanics, fitters, welders, electricians and labourers. At present very few school leavers take these jobs, but the proportion will probably rise in the future. There is nothing in the figures above to support this contention, but until unemployment of school leavers is really critical, school leavers will find it difficult to adjust their expectations to take jobs which are listed under this heading.

In the third year after secondary education (table XVIII below) the number of school leavers in different jobs within the public sector increased by 42% over first-year-school figures. However, the proportions of leavers in the different jobs do not change a great deal. The proportion of teachers rises as trainees complete their courses, while there is a drop in the proportion of secretaries and clerks, although not a decline in their absolute numbers.

TABLE XVIII JOBS FOR SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR (THIRD AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION).

Type of Employment	1965	1966	1967
	%	%	%
Administrative/Managerial	4.8	4.9	2.8
Sub-professional & technical	21.7	24.3	17.2
Teacher (untrained & trained)	13.8	18.6	23.4
Secretarial or Clerical	43.9	36.0	38.5
Uniformed forces	8.5	4.5	6.5
Artisans and Craftsmen	0.5	0	0.6
Type of job not known	6.9	11.7	11.1
TOTALS	100.1 (189)	100.0 (247)	100.1 (325)

Private Sector.

Table XIX indicates the kinds of jobs school leavers found in the private sector in their first year after school.

TABLE XIX JOBS FOR SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR (FIRST YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Type of Employment	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Administrative or managerial	5.2	4.4	2.6	1.2
Sub-professional or technical	0	5.9	8.7	9.4
Untrained teachers	14.3	13.2	16.5	13.5
Secretarial or Clerical	67.5	57.4	58.3	56.7
Artisan and Craftsmen	0	0	3.4	0.6
Not known	13.0	19.1	10.4	18.7
TOTALS	100.0 (77)	100.0 (68)	99.9(115)	100.1(171)

Over half (57%) of school leavers entering the private sector in their first year after secondary education got secretarial or clerical jobs, compared with about 43% who entered the public sector. About 5% of those who went into the private sector in 1965 were given administrative or managerial jobs, but this proportion declined to only 1% in 1968. However, as the numbers are small in this category the trend may be due to chance. None of our sample undertook sub-professional or technical jobs in the private sector in 1965, but by 1968 almost 10% of those who entered the private sector during their first year on the labour market got jobs in this category, and at the time of tracing we found that a total of about 8% of school leavers in private sector employment were doing sub-professional or technical jobs.

About 14% of school leavers in the private sector (1965-68) were employed as untrained teachers in private and Harambee schools during their first year after EACE, but we discovered during our tracing that most of those who had joined this field in 1965 and 1966 had already left it.

The table XX indicates that the proportions of leavers doing different jobs within the private sector in the third year after school does change with a higher proportion being noticed among those in managerial and technical categories. There is a decline in the proportion of those doing teaching jobs although as in public sector the decline is not in absolute numbers.

TABLE XX JOBS FOR SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR (THIRD YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Type of employment	1965	1966	1967
	%	%	%
Administrative or Managerial	7.6	7.2	4.3
Sub-professional or technical	5.4	11.3	8.5
Teachers (untrained & trained)	5.4	9.3	14.9
Secretarial or Clerical	68.5	58.8	57.4
Artisans and Craftsmen	1.1	0	2.8
Not known	12.0	13.4	12.1
TOTALS	100.0 (92)	100.0 (97)	100.0 (141)

TABLE XXI LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT FOR SCHOOL LEAVERS (FIRST YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Place of employment	1965	1966	1967	1968
Nairobi	55.7	58.9	51.6	40.6
Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret, Thika.	18.6	14.1	16.9	23.9
Nyeri, Kericho, Nanyuki, Kitale	3.8	1.2	4.1	4.3
Small Towns & Rural Areas.	16.2	18.7	18.1	26.1
Outside Kenya	0.5	0.4	1.5	0.3
Not known	5.2	6.6	7.9	4.8
TOTALS	100.0 (210)	99.9 (241)	100.1 (344)	100.0 (394)

LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT

Nairobi: With the exception of 1968, when 41% of that year's school leavers in employment worked in Nairobi, over 52% of leavers who went

to work in 1965-67 found employment in the capital. Private sector employment in Nairobi showed consistency from 1965 to 1968, but public sector employment has declined from 70% in 1965 to 47% in 1968. At the same time there was a rise in the employment of school leavers in the other major towns (Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret and Thika) and in the rural areas. Nairobi, as the site of many governmental organisations and major industrial and commercial companies, will continue to absorb a large number of school leavers, but it is doubtful whether its absorptive capacity will remain the same.

Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret and Thika. Between 1965 and 1967 the proportion of leavers finding jobs in these towns varied between 14% and 18%, but in 1968 there was a jump to 24%. Combining these figures with those for smaller towns (i.e., Nyeri, Kericho, Nanyuki and Kitale) it is clear that there has been a trend for more school leavers to find employment in towns apart from the capital over the past few years. This rise has been mainly in the public sector employment, as private sector employment is more evenly spread over the country (see tables XXII and XXIII).

Small Towns and Rural Areas. The proportion of school leavers employed in small towns and in the rural areas did not change significantly during the period 1965-67, but after that there was a remarkable rise from 18% in 1967 to 28% in 1968. If this indicates a future trend, a good number of school leavers can expect to be employed in rural areas.

The changes noticed in the location of employment for school leavers are mainly to be found in the public sector employment as proportions in the private sector show no significant change in the period 1965 to 1968 (see tables XXII and XXIII). In the third year after school the proportions of those in employment in the different parts of the country do not change.

TABLE XXII: LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT FOR SCHOOL LEAVERS IN PUBLIC SECTOR
(FIRST YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Place of Employment	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Nairobi	69.9	69.4	57.6	46.6
Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret, & Thika	9.0	5.8	13.5	18.4
Nyeri, Kericho, Nanyuki, & Kitale	1.5	0.6	2.2	1.8
Small Towns & Rural Areas	15.8	17.3	16.2	28.7
Outside Kenya	0	0.6	1.8	0.4
Not known	3.8	6.4	8.7	4.0
TOTALS	100.0(133)	100.1(173)	100.0(229)	99.9(223)

TABLE XXIII: LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT OF SCHOOL LEAVERS PRIVATE SECTOR
(FIRST YEAR AFTER SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Place of Employment	1965	1966	1967	1968
	%	%	%	%
Nairobi	31.2	32.4	39.1	32.7
Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret, & Thika	35.1	35.3	23.5	31.0
Nyeri, Kericho, Nanyuki, & Kitale	7.8	2.9	7.8	7.6
Small towns & Rural Areas.	16.9	22.1	22.6	22.8
Outside Kenya	1.3	0	0.9	0
Not known	7.8	7.4	6.1	5.8
TOTALS	100.1(77)	100.1(68)	100.0(115)	99.9(171)

SELF EMPLOYMENT

There were only ten school leavers in our sample who were found to be in self-employment. Five of these had farms which they had acquired from their parents and begun to farm on their own. Four of the others had joined their parents' businesses or farms as junior partners, and one was a musician. These school leavers had, on the whole, performed poorly in the EACE examination and had a mean grade aggregate of 44.9.

The fact that the number of school leavers going into self-employment is small can be explained, firstly, by the fact that before someone ventures into self-employment he needs capital, skill and confidence. Most school leavers lack all of these assets. Secondly, secondary education has for a long time been viewed as preparation for wage employment and this concept has not changed much. Therefore, school leavers do not venture into self-employment immediately after school unless the chances of getting wage employment are almost closed for them. In fact, this writer does not envisage that many school leavers will be self-employed, even when faced with the possibility of long periods unemployed. If we want secondary school leavers to turn to self-employment, then it is necessary to equip them with the necessary skills. This calls for a thorough reorientation of the education system towards imparting practical skills and encouraging innovation.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Our data shows that 14.8% of secondary school leavers in 1968 were unemployed in their first year after leaving school. In the second year after leaving school the proportion dropped to 8.8%. The mean grade aggregate for the unemployed in the first year after school was 44.6 compared with 46.5 for those who remained unemployed in the second year. This suggests that the labour market was selective in terms of performance in the EACE examination. This point is supported by the fact that the unemployed in 1968 formed 35% of the school leavers in the bottom quintile. These facts support the hypothesis that in a period of low educational output the labour market is less selective, but it becomes progressively more selective in terms of performance as educational output expands and the labour market remains relatively static. We are of the opinion, however, that the labour market becomes selective in terms of key subjects (mathematics, science, technical subjects) as well as in terms of EACE performance. Unfortunately, the analysis for individual EACE subjects was not complete for inclusion in this paper.

While it is difficult to say how many school leavers benefited from last year's Tripartite Agreement,¹⁵ it is not difficult to see that unemployment among secondary school leavers will not be solved by short-term measures of this kind. The Tripartite Agreement most certainly benefited the unemployed secondary school leavers of 1968 and 1969, but it has almost certainly meant fewer job opportunities for the 1970 school leavers.

15. The Tripartite Agreement between the Kenya Government, employers and the trade unions became effective on 1 July 1970. Government and employers agreed to increase the number of their regular employees by 10% and the trade unions agreed to a one year wage freeze.

THE SELECTION PROCESS

Our discussion here will focus on the selection process for allocation of school leavers for further education and training on one hand, and employment on the other. We shall further explore how this process continues within each field of activities of school leavers.

The selection starts when school leavers for further education (mainly H.S.C. courses) and training are recruited and the rest proceed on to the labour market. The graphs below show the quality of those who are selected to continue with some form of education as compared with those who enter labour market.

KEY

— Further education and Training entrants
 x - - - x - - - Labour market entrants.

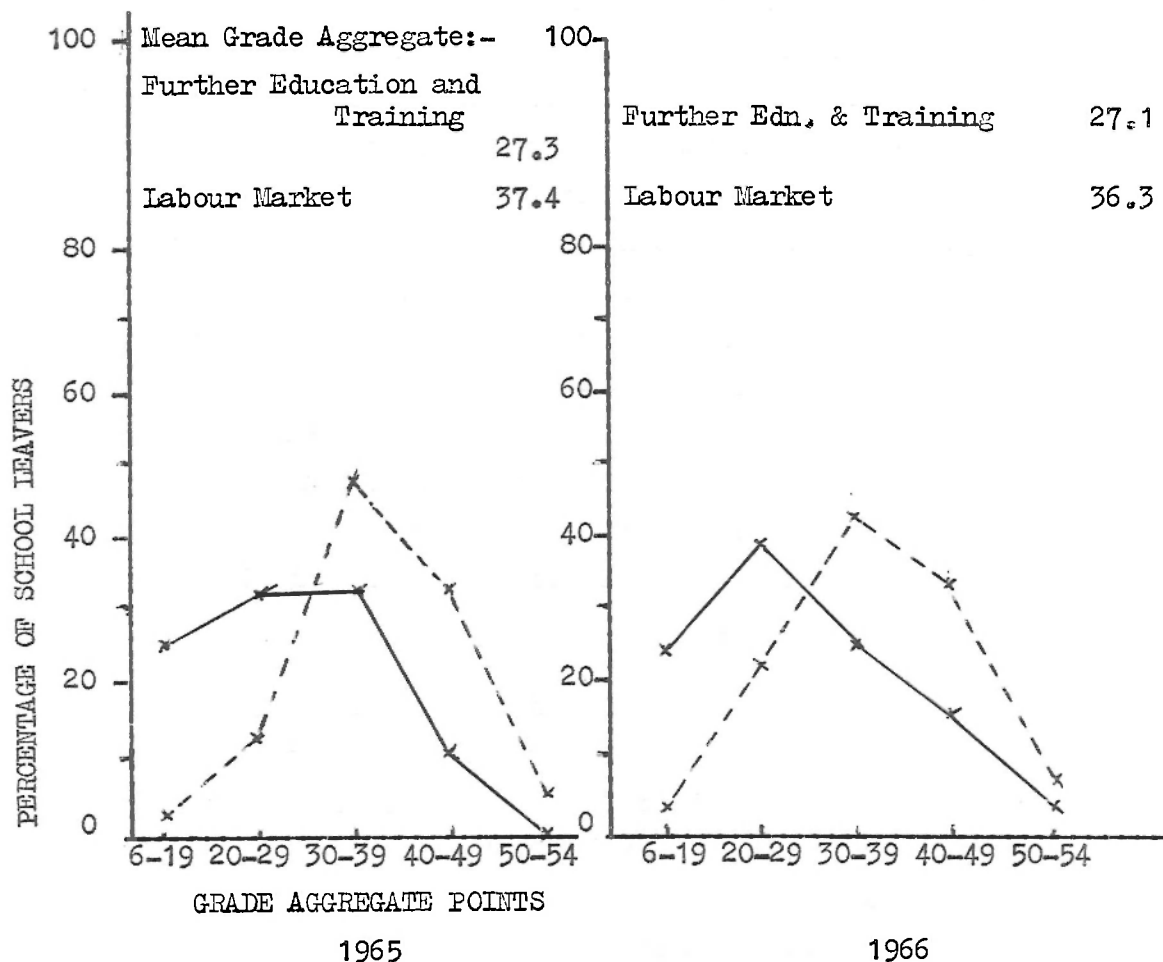


FIG. 1a.

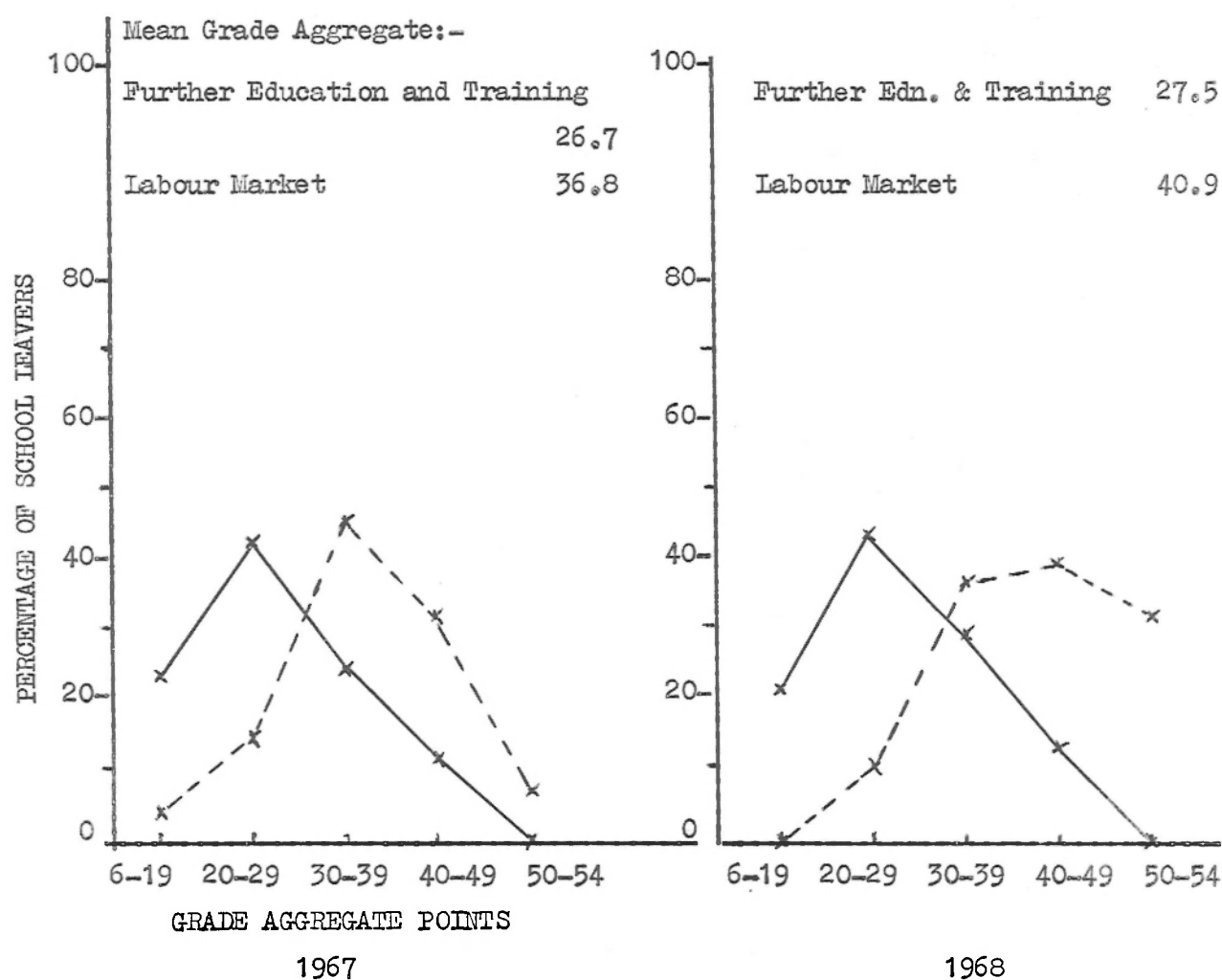


FIG. 1b.

The leavers who continue with some form of education are the most able students having mean grade aggregate points of 27.2 which is more than 10 grade aggregate points better than those who enter the labour market. School leavers who go on for further education and training tend to cluster between 10-39 grade aggregate points, while those who enter labour market cluster between 30-49 grade aggregate points. Although overall performance of 1968 cohort was slightly poorer than the other years, it will be observed that the school leavers selected for further education and training were of the same level of performance with those of 1965-1967. This meant that in 1968 a poorer group of school leavers entered the labour market than in the previous years.

This selection is carried on a step further if we analyse the school leavers who enrol for Higher School Certificate, training courses and those who enter for different jobs.

The most able school leavers who continue to Form Five take science courses and the rest take arts or mixed courses as shown in table IX. Agricultural and medical training courses tend to recruit the ablest students who go for public sector training (see table XI). This selection process is also carried in the labour market for the allocation of different jobs. The selection here is slightly subtle and less obvious. Table XXIV below indicates the performance of school leavers doing different jobs.

TABLE XXIV: THE PERFORMANCE OF SCHOOL LEAVERS DOING DIFFERENT TYPES OF JOBS (MEAN EACE GRADE AGGREGATE POINTS)

Type of job done	1965	1966	1967	1968
Sub-professional or technical	34.4	31.6	35.3	34.9
Teaching	41.8	42.5	41.5	42.3
Secretarial or Clerical	36.9	36.7	35.5	39.2
Uniformed forces	34.3	31.0	38.5	34.8

The above table indicates that there have been some consistency in the performance of school leavers going into the various job categories.

The sub-professional category tends to recruit slightly better school leavers than other job categories. The school leavers who join uniformed forces are the second best and followed by school leavers going into clerical and secretarial types of jobs. Teaching has consistently been attracting school leavers who perform rather poorly in EACE. This fact taken together with the fact that teacher education attracts least able students in comparison with other public sector training courses, does not augur well for the quality of our education at the elementary level.

Still on the same issue of the selectivity of the school leavers allocation system our discussion turns to 1968 cohort where a substantial number of leavers were unemployed. The school leavers who entered the labour market had mean grade aggregate points of 40.9. This group consisted of 525 males about 70% of whom went into direct employment in the first